5: Nicolaisen E-4, 5 (1951-1955) 1959
MS25 Tuareg MS25

Political Systems Of Pastoral Tuareg In Air And Ahaggar.

By JOHANNES NICOLAISEN

The Tuareg are Berber-speaking, nomadic stock-breeders who live in an extensive area of the Western Sahara and adjacent regions of the Sudan. The territory dominated by the Tuareg lies between 14° and 30° North Latitude and between 5° West Longitude and 10° East Longitude. They fall into seven main groups or major political units (fig. 1) comprising 240,000–300,000 individuals, their negro slaves excluded. The two northernmost groups (the Kel Ahaggar and the Kel Ajjer) live in the true desert country and number less than 10,000 or about 3% of all Tuareg. In Ahaggar the number according to statistics of 1950 is 4,611. The Air Tuareg further south are more numerous and seem to comprise more than 20.000 individuals (cf. Lhote 1947, p. 15f. & 1955, p. 157).

This study of Tuareg political systems has as its foundation a part of my own field material collected in 1951 (in Ahaggar), 1952 (in Tassili-n-Ajjer), 1953 (in Ahaggar), and 1954–55 (in Ahaggar including Ahnet, and in Air). I have spent about two years in these Tuareg countries living most of the time in Ahaggar and adjacent regions, while my stay further south in Air was limited to six months.

It is my intention here to describe the political systems of Air and Ahaggar, but as my final task is concerned with their origin I find it necessary to take up also more general aspects of Tuareg culture and the distribution of certain cultural traits. I shall make use also of Tuareg oral traditions and of the very comprehensive material on Tuareg history gathered by Arab historians and geographers of the Middle Ages. Thus I do not follow the ordinary lines of any particular anthropological school.

I am much indebted to Dr. Birket-Smith (University of Copenhagen) from whom I acquired my general anthropological knowledge together with a keen interest in historical problems, and to Professor Daryll Forde and Dr. Phyllis Kaberry of the London University where I have learnt what I know about social anthropology. Dr. Phyllis Kaberry has taken a profound interest in my studies, and I feel grateful for her kind help and assistance in all matters concerning Tuareg political systems and Tuareg social structure in general.

My journeys among the Tuareg were carried out by means of grants from various Danish foundations, notably Statens Almindelige Videnskabsfond, Carlsberg Fondet, Knud Rasmussen Fondet, and Jens Lohmand Rasmussens Rejselegat. During my last journey The University College London assigned me a grant without which I should not have been able to gather the material here presented

(P.67)

5: Nicolaisen E-4, 5 (1951-1955) 1959
MS25 Tuareg MS25

on the Air Tuareg. I wish to express my sincere thanks to the above mentioned foundations and their directors. 122

For the transcription of Tuareg letters I have on the whole adopted Foucauld's system (cf. Foucauld 1920 & 1951–52):– 104 212

Tuareg Letters (*Tifinay*)	Transcription And Value In Arabic Letters		Notes
ⵓ	b	ب	
ⵛ	ch	ش	
ⴷ	d	د	
ⴹ	ḍ	ض	Emphatic
ⴼ	f	ف	
ⴳ	g		Hard
ⵖ	ġ		A peculiar soft pronunciation something between g, d, j, and l.
ⵀ	h	ه	Aspirated
ⵉ	i	ي	Used both as consonant and vowel at the end of a word, At the beginning and in the middle of a word only as consonant.
ⵊ	j		
ⴽ	k	ك	
ⵍ	l	ل	
ⵅ	kh	خ	Foucauld 1951–52 has the transcription ḫ [114]
ⵍ	l	ل	
ⵎ	m	م	
ⵏ	n	ن	
ⵄ	ă		Foucauld 1920 does not mention this letter [114]
ⵡ	ou	و	Consonant or vowel as for i mentioned above
ⵔ	r	ر	

My gratitude to Dr. Phyllis Kaberry, who acted as my supervisor during my London studies, is not easily expressed in words. Nobody has taken so profound an interest in my studies as Dr. Kaberry, and if my descriptions of economics and political systems contain views of any value this is due largely to her extreme interest in my Tuareg material. Much of my later field-work among the Tuareg has also been carried out along lines suggested by Dr. Kaberry.

My stay in London was indeed a fruitful one as I was also able to attend lectures and seminars by Professor Raymond Firth and Professor I. Schapera, and to benefit from the rich knowledge of East African cultures possessed by Mr. G. W. B. Huntingford of The School of Oriental and African Studies.

I try to reconstruct history within the limited area of Northern Africa occupied by the Tuareg. In doing so I use methodologies of different anthropological schools, and also include material available from written sources, from Tuareg traditions, and from archaeology. I feel confident that my procedure is justified, but present it to the reader's judgement with a quotation from the great anthropologist E. E. Evans-Pritchard, who speaks about the rejection of the reconstruction of history by functional anthropologists as follows: "A case can be made out for this rejection, though not in my opinion so strong a case as is usually supposed, for all history is of necessity a reconstruction, the degree of probability attending a particular reconstruction depending on the evidence available" (Evans-Pritchard 1962, p. 21).

The real foundation of my book is the field-material I have been able to gather during eight journeys to Northern Africa. I made the first two short trips on my own account, while later journeys were paid by Danish foundations, notably by *Statens Almindelige Videnskabsfond*, *Carlsbergfondet*, *Rask-Ørsted Fondet*, *Knud Rasmussen Fondet*, and by grants from the University of Copenhagen. I have also been supported economically by The Danish National Museum and by The Museum of Prehistory in Aarhus, which museums now contain my collections of ethnographical specimens. My first Tuareg journey carried out in 1951 owes its beginning to economic and moral support from the former leader of the Aarhus Museum, Professor P. V. Glob, now Director-General of the Central Office and of the Museum of National Antiquities in Denmark. My journey to the Tuareg of Ahaggar and Ayr 1954–55 was partly paid by The University College London on the very kind initiative of Professor Daryll Forde.

I express my sincere thanks to the above-mentioned institutions and their directors.

The results achieved on my journeys are due largely to friendly help rendered me by the Algerian administration and the administration of the Niger Republic in Niamey and at Agadez. In Algeria I met at an early date Mr. Pierre Bataillon and Mr. Josef Kniebihly of the Civil Administration at Djelfa. They willingly offered me their friendship and did everything to help me during the three weeks of 1947 when I suffered very greatly from malaria. On my journeys to the Ayr Tuareg I have been very kindly assisted by all governmental offices, and I thank heartily Mr. G. Feral, formerly civil governor of the Cercle d'Agadez, Mr. J. Demonceau, Mr. Claude Gardin, and Mr. and Mrs. Bernus of the IFAN at Niamey.

My two Danish friends, Niels Wismer, Norwegian Vice-Consul in Algeria, and Clas Wismer have been of outstanding importance for all my journeys among North African pastoralists. They supported me morally and practically every time I came to Algiers, and they gave me their friendship which I treasure most highly.

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25

I also acknowledge with grateful thanks the valuable help of the Danish Consulate of Algeria under the leadership of the Vice-Consul, Mr. E. Hartvig.

The valuable North African collections preserved in the Musée de l'homme, Paris, Musée d'Ethnographie et de Préhistoire du Bardo, Algiers, and in the Musée de la ville de Neuchâtel have been of extreme importance to my studies, and I wish to thank sincerely the directors of these museums for their kindness in allowing me free admission to all interesting objects. I thank the Musée de l'homme for its courtesy in permitting me to reproduce the illustrations Figs. 62, 75 & 88. For the photograph Fig. 254 I am indebted to the courtesy of Dr. Erik Smidt, Copenhagen.

Anthropology necessitates co-operation with many other sciences, and this I have often experienced when working on my book. I wish to thank sincerly my friend Mr. K.-G. Prasse for his readiness to let me benefit from his profound knowledge of all structural problems connected with Tuareg language and other Berber dialects. He has kindly undertaken the work of checking the spelling of Tuareg words used in this book, and I owe him much for discussions about the meanings of such Tuareg words that may be important from a culture-historical viewpoint. I also thank my friend Dr. Hans Helback of The Danish National Museum for his assistance on problems connected with cultivated plants, and the veterinary surgeon Mr. Niels Grunnet for his comments on Tuareg stock-diseases.

I wrote this book in English which was kindly corrected by Major C. L. Bayliss of The British Embassy in Denmark. As to the drawing of diagrams, maps, etc., they are made by Mr. Arne Morell Nielsen whose readiness to help a friend is unrivalled.

The book was written mainly during eight months of 1961 and nobody has rendered me so much real help as my wife Ida.

I cannot in this way convey my heart-felt thanks to Tuareg friends, but my thoughts are among them with my brothers of the Aguh-en-tehlé and the Imezzureg tribes.

Copenhagen, June 1963

JOHANNES NICOLAISEN

[p. ix]

Introduction

This book is the result of several years' study of North African pastoralism. My interest in this subject began under climatic conditions rather different from those of North Africa. In the winter 1945–46 I journied on skis through Northern Sweden, Finland, and the Norwegian Finmark. For about three months I lived among the Lapps, and, watching the techniques of reindeer-breeding, I became very interested in the problems connected with the history and evolution of stock-breeding. Shortly after my return from this trip I began to study anthropology in the University of Copenhagen under Dr. Kaj Birket-Smith, and as the main subject of the degree of M.Sc. acquired in summer 1950, I chose pastoral cultures of the Near and Middle East. I had already then made two short journeys to North Africa.

(1) In summer 1947 I spent about three months in Central Algeria to investigate Arab nomads in the steppes of the High Plateau and the adjacent parts of the Sahara. I travelled around the towns of Djelfa, Zenina, Aflu, Laghwat, and Ghardaya. I had little money at my disposal and could never afford to engage native assistants or to have a horse or a mule for riding and transportation. I walked through the barren steppes and deserts carrying as my main luggage several bottles filled with water. This journey was certainly not easy, and at its end I suffered very badly from malaria. Nevertheless, I managed to get into contact with camps of nomadic tribes such as the *Ulad Nail*, the *Larba*, and the *Sait Otba*, and for shorter periods I followed them during their migrations towards the south. I also contacted certain semi-nomadic tribes living around Aflu in Djebel Amour of the Sahara Atlas. I did not, however, understand Arabic, and the nomads, who were rather shy and suspicious of Europeans, generally had no knowledge of French. It is evidently most difficult to collect ethnographical material under such circumstances. And if I had not received the very kind assistance of French administrators and officers, of native Arab caids, and of Arabs who had formerly served in the French Army, I should indeed have acquired nothing. The year 1947 followed upon a long period of drought which had caused severe losses to all nomads. Many of them had lost all their livestock, and famine occurred all over pastoral Algeria. The consequences of the drought when at its worst can be illustrated by the following example:— Arriving at Aflu in the Djebel Amour, I discovered a small camp the tents of which apparently belonged to a type constructionally different from those used among Central Algerian nomads. I went to the camp where I was told that it belonged to semi-nomads of the *Adjaletes* and *Ulad Sidi Brahim* tribes. They all suffered extremely from famine, and entering the first tent I found three dying children under filthy rugs. I now concentrated upon the problems connected with this dreadful disaster which seemed to prove the insufficiency of pure pastoralism in the barren countries of North Africa.

[p. 1]

114 121 (2) In winter 1950 I visited several *Kabyle* villages in the Djurdjura Mountains, and stayed for some time in the regions which I had already visited in summer 1947. I wanted to gather supplementary material on the consequences of the drought period, and also to acquire some personal knowledge of winter life among nomads. – Part of the material collected 1947 and 1950 has been published (Nicolaisen 1950).

101 114 122 124 On later journeys to Northern Africa I have studied culture and society of pastoral Tuareg:—

(3) In summer 1951 I spent about five months (May September) in Ahaggar. I arrived at Algiers from where I travelled southwards by car to make short stops at Djelfa, Laghwat, Ghardaya, El Golea, and In Salah. Reaching Tamanṛaset in Ahaggar in the month of May, I hired an interpreter to visit many Tuareg camps of the important vassal tribes *Aǧuh-en-tehlé* and *Dag Ṛali* on journeys accomplished by means of camels and donkeys. Part of the time I also lived at Tamanṛaset where I was visited daily by Tuareg informants. Apart from Tamanṛaset I visited the following centres of cultivation:— Tit, Utul, Terhenanet, and I-n-dalaǧ. My investigations concentrated upon economics and material culture in relation to environment, and about 300 ethnographic specimens were collected. I left Tamanṛaset for Algiers by plane via Ġanet (Djanet), Ṛat (Ghat), Ft. Flatters, and Wargla.

121 126 (4) I returned to North Africa in summer 1952. The length of this visit was about three months and a half. From Algiers I went by train and trucks to Arris in the Aurès Mountains where I stayed for about five weeks among the semi-nomadic Berber-speaking *Chawiya*. I rode through the valleys of this montain massif on a mule, and the journey terminated with my arrival at the oasis of Biskra. From Biskra I went by train to Tuggurt from where I continued by truck to Wargla. I left this oasis by a French military plane for Ġanet in Tasilé-n-Ajjer via El Golea, In Salah, and Tamanṛaset. At Ġanet I hired camels and a native guide and went westwards via Ft. Ghardel to Afara, where I had the opportunity to meet the supreme chief of the *Kel Ajjer* living in French territory. From Afara I went up the valley named Ahurhar and across the Tasilé Mountains to Élézi (Ft. Polignac). After a short rest with the French garrison I went northwards to the region of Hassi Issendjel, where I visited various Tuareg camps, notably of the tribes *Kel Terurit* and *Uruṛen*. I stayed in Tasilé-n-Ajjer for six weeks, and returned by plane to Algiers via Ft. Flatters and Wargla. From Algiers I made a very short trip to the *Kabyle* of the Djurdjura Mountains. From the Kabyle, the Chawiya, and the Ajjer Tuareg an ethnographical collection of about 70 specimens was made.

126 (5) From autumn 1952 until summer 1954 I studied social anthropology in University College London under Professor Daryll Forde and Dr. Phyllis Kaberry. My studies in London were interrupted in summer 1953 when I went to North Africa to stay for three months among the Ahaggar Tuareg. I lived most of the time in camps of the vassal tribes *Dag Ṛali* and *Aǧuh-en-tehlé*, but I also visited the *Iklan-en-tawsit* and camps of certain *Iseḳḳemaren* tribes, notably the *Iheyawen-Hada*. I also paid a visit to camps of the *Kel Ṛezzi* Tuareg (*Ahl Azzi*) who descend patrilineally from Arabs, and I spent several days in the camp of the *Amenukal*, that is the supreme chief elected from the dominant noble tribe of *Kel Ṛela*. Among agricultural settlements visited the most important were Abalessa and Silet – apart from Tamanṛaset. My studies concentrated upon social and political organization, but I made an ethnographical collection of more than a hundred specimens. The journey from Algiers to Tamanṛaset and return was made by plane via El Golea and In Salah.

121 126

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 .MS25 Tuareg MS25

(6) My sixth journey to North Africa was undertaken 1954–55 and comprised about 14 months' field-work among Northern and Southern Tuareg. I left Algiers by car via Djelfa, Laghwat, Ghardaya, El Golea to In Salah at the beginning of the autumn 1954. At In Salah I bought four camels and hired an Arab guide of the *Ulad Ba Ḥammu* tribe. After a short visit to his camp we went southwards to the region of the Ahnet Massif where I visited camps of *Kel-ahem-mellen* (a small noble tribe), *Kel-Immidir* (*Iseḳḳemaren*), *Ayt Lowayen* of the *Kel Turha* section, *Kel Reẓẓi*, and notably the *Kel Ahnet*. Two small camps visited claimed to belong to the noble *Taytoḳ* tribe, but they had no matrilineal relationship to that tribe which is now found in the Tamesna plains west of Ayr. I left Ahnet for Tamanṛaset about the middle of December, and in the following months I travelled alone with my camels in Ahaggar as I now knew Tuareg language sufficiently to dispense with an interpreter. Until the beginning of April 1955 I lived in camps of the *Dag Ṛali* and the *Aguh-en-tehlé* tribes, and passed some days in the *Amenukal*'s camp. I also had a house at Tamanṛaset where I could work more peacefully with problems connected with kinship, land tenure, and political organization. In this work I was mainly assisted by two older Tuareg of the *Dag Ṛali* and the *Aguh-en-tehlé* tribes. Apart from Tamanṛaset I visited the following cultivation centres:— Utul, Tahart, Ti-n-amenser, Ennedid, Iglen, Abalessa, Amsel, and Taṛhawhawt. – On the 3rd of April, 1955, I left Ahaggar for Ayr together with two Ayr Tuareg who were returning to their camps at Northern Ayr after a caravan journey to Tamanṛaset. We travelled south-eastwards via the small cultivation centre Taġnut and thence into the very barren country separating Ahaggar from Ayr. We refilled our six skin-bags with water at the wells of I-n-abeggi and I-n-azawa, and had no water again until we arrived at a fairly large and permanent waterhole (*agelmam*) known as Tamengoyt, situated on the northern outskirts of the Ayr Massif. Close to this place we met the first Tuareg camps of the *Kel Tédalé* who dominate the northern parts of Ayr. The following days we saw several camps of these Tuareg. At last we arrived at the camp of one of my companions who belonged to the *Iḳḳoberen* tribe though his family was very mixed with *Kel Tédalé*. This camp was situated in the Azel valley, where we stayed for about ten days to regain full strength. Thereupon we continued to *Iferwan* which constitutes the northernmost village of the Ayr Massif. I lived in this village for about three weeks and then I continued towards Agadez together with a Tuareg of the *Kel Akerra* tribe. We visited camps of various tribes on our journey southwards (*Kel Ṛarus*, *Iṛoṛas*). The journey was a difficult one as two of my camels were worn out. We left them in a camp of *Ikojjejiten* Tuareg. This was situated at the Afarak valley from where we continued to Agadez via the small agricultural settlements of Tabeydag, Azzal, and Alarses. From Agadez I went by truck down to Zinder, but returned quickly to make a more complete investigation of the Ayr Tuareg. The situation was now very difficult as my two camels left at Afarak died and I was too short of money to buy a new animal. My financial problems were rather acute and were solved only by the very kind and resolute help rendered me by Professor Daryll Forde of University College London. I was thus able to continue my studies for another six months. I hired a house in Agadez where I could work peacefully, and bought a fine riding camel in order to be able to visit Tuareg camps in the vicinity. The most extensive journey made went to the village of Awderas, north-east of Agadez and close to the Begzen Mountains. On this journey I revisited the small settlements of Tabeydag, Azzal, and Alarses, and visited pastoral camps of the *Iṛoṛas*, the *Ikojjejiten*, the *Kel Tamat*, the *Igen-*

déjmen, and the *Imezzureg*. If not staying in Agadez I lived mainly in camps of the latter tribe, and spent a considerable time in one particular camp. My studies were concluded with a visit to the camp of the *Kel Ferwan* drum-chief north of Aderbissinat. I remained in his camp for about a fortnight and also visited camps of the *Echchikhen* Tuareg and the Fulani who are numerous in this area. I left Agadez by air via Tawa, Niamey, Bamako to Dakar whence I returned to Denmark by ship, and a few days later returned to London to resume my studies at University College. On this comparatively long journey among the Tuareg I did not make any large ethnographical collection, as I could not afford to buy much, but brought back with me about fifty different specimens plus a few archaeological objects.

(7) In 1956 I returned to Copenhagen from London. I was then planning a new journey to North Africa, but for many reasons this had to be postponed until the autumn 1959. The journey was a very short one of only two months. I left Copenhagen by air on the second of August and arrived at Niamey the next day. After a week's stay at Niamey I continued by plane via Maradi and Zinder to Agadez. The day after my arrival at this ancient capital of the Ayr people I was able to join a car expedition organized by Mr. J. Demonceau, who was studying locust migrations, and by Mr. Claude Gardin of the "Peloton Nomade", who was looking for Tuareg camel thieves. We went first to Ingal and from there continued northwards to the village and salt pits of *Tegidda-n-tesemt*. We went further north but stopped at the well of I-n-abanferit, then going eastwards across the Talak Plains to the western edge of the Ayr Massif. Our journey back to Agadez followed the road through the mountains. Though this journey did not take much more than a week it was of great importance to my studies, as I had for the first time an occasion to see the extensive plains west of Ayr – a region of great economic value to many tribes not only of Ayr Tuareg but also to certain tribes of Ahaggar. On the journey I visited camps of *Idaléyen*, *Kel Tédalé* and *Iforas* (Ayr Tuareg), of *Iregenaten* (Ahaggar Tuareg), and of *Tégehé-n-Efis* (originally Ahaggar Tuareg). In all these camps I collected much valuable material concerning tent structures and economics. – Shortly after my return to Agadez from this brief journey I met a Tuareg of the *Imezzureg* tribe. I knew him well from my visit to Ayr in 1955, and he was in fact my classificatory elder brother. I went immediately to his camp situated not very far from Agadez, and I lived with him and his kinsmen for the rest of the time left at my disposal. During this period the camp was frequently broken and taken to the best possible pastures of annual plants. I left the camp only once for a week when my brother and I made a camel journey westwards to Tegidda-n-tagayt and Tegidda-n-edrar. In these regions we visited several Ayr tribes which I had never been among previously (e.g. *Imezzuren*, *Ijakurkaren*), and we were lucky enough to meet during this journey the supreme chief of the noble *Kel Azel* tribe. We also visited the camp of the drum-chief of the *Kel Geres* Tuareg, who move northwards to Ayr at the end of the rains. I finished my field-work about the sixth of October and was back in Copenhagen by plane via Zinder, Maradi, and Niamey on the tenth. I made a very small ethnographical collection comprising about twenty specimens. My investigations were not concentrated on any particular subject. I acquired valuable supplementary material on such different matters as traditional political systems, kinship, ecology, and technology.

(8) Participating in The First International Congress of Africanists at Accra I had the opportunity

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25

to visit Niamey for one week at the beginning of December 1962. Here I studied the very valuable ethnographical collections of The IFAN Museum, and I spent two days in camps of *Bélla* and Tuareg of the *Western Iwllemmeden* east and north-east of Ayoru on the Niger. Of particular value was my visit to a camp of the dominant noble tribe, *Kel Tahabanat*. Its supreme chief *Amder* and his family gave me important information on Tuareg culture in this little known area. My visit to Tuareg and *Bélla* near Ayoru was made possible by the very kind assistance of Mr. and Mrs. Bernus of the IFAN. They put a truck with its driver at my free disposition.

Altogether I have spent almost three years among North African pastoralists – mainly among the Tuareg. This length of time is not so impressive as it may seem, for my investigations have been carried out over an extensive territory ranching from the Mediterranean to the outskirts of the Sudanese savannah. A detailed study of Tuareg ecology and culture necessitates a detailed knowledge of change and variation in environment within and without the country in which the Tuareg live.

The literature which deals with the Tuareg is very comprehensive as can be seen from the bibliography at the end of this book, but most publications are of very little value and many of them are almost inaccessible.

The Tuareg are first mentioned in literature by Arab authors of the Middle Ages, but most of these historians and geographers did not know the Tuareg country and even the few of them who travelled in the Sahara tell us very little about the Tuareg in early Arabic texts generally called *Muletthemin*, that is "the veiled ones". The most important Arab authors who mention the Tuareg are Ibn Hawkal (10th century), El-Bekri (11th century), Edrisi (12th century), Ibn Batutah (14th century), and Ibn Khaldun (14th century). Ibn Khaldun gives the most intimate description of the Tuareg though apparently he never met them. But they played a very important part in his attempt to recount the ancient history of the North African Berbers. After Ibn Khaldun came Leo Africanus (16th century) who published information gathered by himself on journeys in the Sahara. His book was first published in Italian. There are certain later Arab authors who have contributed to our knowledge of North African cultures and the Tuareg, e.g., Es-Sadi who lived in the 17th century. We must also mention in this connection that there are other valuable Arabic manuscripts, notably those generally referred to as the Agadez Chronicle, which contain much historical material on the Ayr Tuareg (cf. Palmer 1910; 1928; 1936; Urvoy 1934).

The first modern description of the Tuareg was given by Hornemann who travelled from Cairo to Murzuk in 1798. Throughout the 19th century many European travellers contributed to our knowledge of the Tuareg, and it is very important now to have their accounts which derive from a time when traditional political systems were unaffected by European colonization. Among these travellers we should mention such outstanding names as Lyon, Caillié, Denham & Clapperton & Oudney, Richardson, Barth, Duveyrier, Rohlfs, Hourst, Fourcau, and von Bary. Lyon gives a very valuable description of the Tuareg who live around Tasilé-n-Ajjer, but by far the most important among these authorities are Barth, who wrote about the *Kel Ajjer*, the *Kel Ayr*, and the *Iwllemmeden*, and Duveyrier, who published an excellent monograph on the Northern Tuareg with particular reference to the Tuareg of Tasilé-n-Ajjer. At the beginning of the present century military posts were established in the Sahara, and literature about the Tuareg became more abundant. Thus Benhazera wrote a good book on

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25

into fine-grained sand carried from the river bed to the fire place in front of the tent. When this heavy fire has calmed down the embers and most of the ashes are moved from the shallow depression to its fringes by means of a small stick, and the thin porridge or gruel of flour and water to which also a little salt is added is poured out into the depression, a spoon being normally used to remove all the gruel out of the wooden bowl in which it has been stirred. A bunch of dry grasses, herbs, or tender twigs is thereupon fired over the gruel in order that its surface may harden, and it is then covered with hot fine-grained sand, ashes, and embers in the order mentioned. If the embers are considered insufficient for baking, a small fire may be lit on the top of the sand and ashes covering the gruel-bread, which is taken out after about twenty minutes to be turned and baked in the same way on the other side for a few minutes. Baking is then finished, the bread is finally removed to be washed in water (Fig. 183). It is broken into pieces and eaten from a large wooden bowl (Figs. 195a–b) together with liquid butter. It is eaten with wooden spoons (Figs. 191).

The type of bread just mentioned is known to people of the *Kel Ferwan* group as *tugella*. It is made by very few Tuareg. Indeed, when I travelled together with Ayr Tuareg I very frequently baked my own bread as I had learned to from the Tuareg of Ahaggar, because very few of the Ayr Tuareg I met were familiar with bread baking. Bread is not a staple diet of the Ayr Tuareg, and when they want to bake wheat flour they generally do so in the following way:— The flour is mixed with water to a dough which is placed upon the bottom and sides of a metal pot heated over the fire. This type of bread or bread-like dish is known to the *Kel Ferwan* Tuareg as *gurasa*. It can be mentioned that the *Kel Ferwan* Tuareg also bake a particular type of bread from millet flour mixed with certain other plant materials, but a bread of this kind is not baked for ordinary food, but as a kind of medicine.

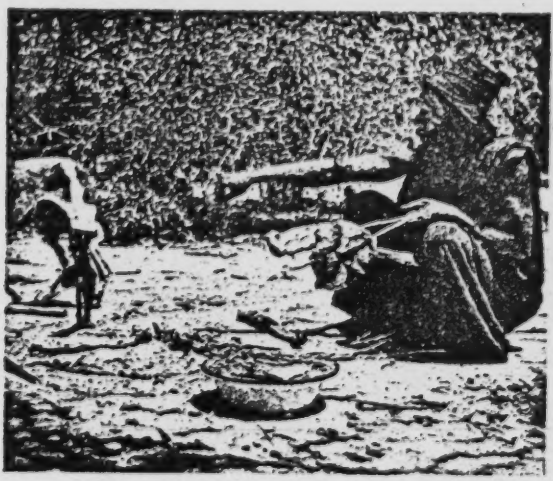

Fig. 174. Roasting meat-lumps by the *mechwi* method. Ayr, *Eckchikhen* Tuareg of Damergu.

[text continues on p. 241]

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25

upon this structure is attached to poles fixed in the ground at the sides (cf. Lhote 1947a, p. 84 ff., 123 ff., 154 f., photographs Nos. 59–65, p. 96–97). 342*

B.2.f.2. This type, described from the *Iwllemmeden Kel Ataram* by Lhote, is similar to the above-mentioned type but has four pairs of forked sticks provided with cross-bars. The two middle pairs of uprights are somewhat higher than the two outer pairs. This structure is used for particularly large tents among the Western *Iwllemmeden* (cf. Lhote 1947a, p. 85).

Lhote says that the above-mentioned two types of structure are also found among the Kel Aḍraṛ (Lhote 1947a, p. 108 f.) and this would also seem quite natural in view of the fact that these Tuareg once formed part of the *Iwllemmeden* group. Cortier says that the *Kel Aḍraṛ* have tent structures of uprights with horizontal cross-bars (Cortier 1908, p. 327 f.). I have myself been told by Iforas Tuareg whom I met in Ahaggar that they possess tent structures similar to those commonly used in Ahaggar nowadays, and these Ahaggar tents resemble those described from the *Iwllemmeden* by Lhote. I shall now describe these structural types of Ahaggar.

B.2.f.3. This tent, which has three pairs of uprights carrying horizontal cross-bars, has been frequently described and depicted in literature. A most valuable description, with many photographs showing the wooden structure, has been published by Lhote in his book on Tuareg tents (Lhote 1947a, p. 34 ff., photographs Nos. 1, 5, 7, 8, 13, 20, 27, 36, 37). The structure is also described by the same author in his general work on the Ahaggar Tuareg (Lhote 1955a, Fig. 22 p. 254). I present my own observations from Ahaggar, where I have lived in such tents over extremely long periods. A tent which I measured among the noble *Kel Rela* may be taken as an example of the normal structure of this type. It was made from boughs of the *tabarekkat* tamarisk (*Tamarix aphylla*) which is generally used for wooden tent structures in the north. The boughs had a diameter of about 0.05–0.07 m, the upright poles being somewhat thicker than the horizontal cross-bars. The three pairs of uprights had small prongs to which the cross-bars were firmly attached by cords of goat hair. The cross-bars were slightly curved, as is normal for this structure. All three cross-bars are called *ireɣeraɣaten* (sing. *areɣaraɣa*). The two pairs of outer poles are termed *tiɣeǰǰewin* (sing. *téɣeǰǰewi*), while the middle pair of uprights are called *iɣetten* (sing. *aɣet*). Lhote gives the name *tamankayt* to the middle pair of sticks (cf. Lhote 1955a, Fig. 22 p. 254), but this is not correct as the term *tamankayt* is used properly for a central T-shaped post to be described in the next section. The sheet rests upon the structure of uprights with their cross-bars, and pieces of old cotton are normally wrapped around the place where the cross-bars rest in the prongs in order that the sheet may not be galled by the prongs. It should be noted that the cross-bars are lashed separately to their uprights, and not by longitudinal cords as among the *Iwllemmeden Kel Ataram*. A piece of cord is tied around the end of a cross-bar and around one of the prongs of its uprights, and is then drawn along the cross-bar to be tied around its other end resting in the prong. All upright poles are fixed in holes dug 0.30–0.50 m deep in the ground, like the holes for the outer poles to which the sheet is fastened with cords of goat hair. [122] [124] [114]

B.2.f.4. This tent differs from that just described in that it has two equally high pairs of uprights in the middle of the tent. These middle uprights (*iɣetten*) are higher than the two pairs of outer uprights (*tiɣeǰǰewin*). There are in other words four parallel pairs of uprights carrying cross-bars which are frequently slightly curved as in the above-mentioned structure. This structure, with an additional pair